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Directed by: Dr. David Mitchell. Pp. 80.

This study examines the dimensions underlying the decision to move. The components of three dimensions of residential choice and the way that individuals evaluate these dimensions comprise the basis of the study. A distinction is made between the socio-economic components of residential choice, factors associated with style of life or "tastes," and affective components (i.e., feelings of being at home or community). These are labelled as dependence, preference, and identification, respectfully.

Factor analysis supported the labelling of these three distinct dimensions of choice. Subsequent analysis shows the relationship between each dimension with movers and stayers, as well as by social class.

The findings suggest that dependence factors are the most important considerations for the decision to move. However, when dependence is low, preference and identification also become distinct dimensions of residential choice. Furthermore, the importance of preference, identification, and dependence are distinguishable by social class.

PREFERENCE, IDENTIFICATION, DEPENDENCE
AND THE DECISION TO MOVE

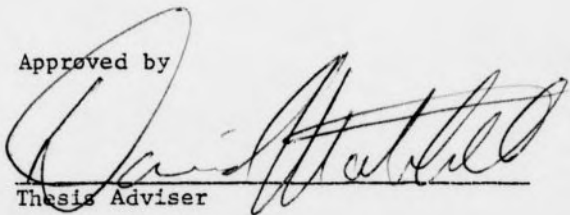
by

Helen L. Ginn

A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Greensboro
1977

Approved by

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, likely belonging to the Thesis Adviser, is written over the printed text "Thesis Adviser".

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APPROVAL PAGE

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION, THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Description of the Study

Statement of the Problem

This research will examine the relationship between the importance of identification, preference, and dependence, and the decision to move from one geographical location to another. It will attempt to probe and define the meaning of the three independent variables as well as the relationship of each variable with the decision to move.

Much of the research on migration has been devoted to the study of migration differentials. Studies of differentials by age, race, occupation, sex, income, family life cycle patterns, and other variables are common. (Bogue, 1969; Masnick, 1968; Miller, 1966; Rose, 1958; Sorkin, 1967; Taeuber, 1966; and Tarver, 1961). These studies have provided valuable information and some theoretical insight into the phenomenon of migration. They suggest that structural, economic, and demographic factors influence an individual's decision to locate in a particular area, although they do not constitute an explicit test of decision-making theory or any other theory.

Analyses of location choice have relied largely on the role of what may be called dependence factors. It is assumed that people will choose to live in areas that best suit their economic needs or demands, including job opportunities, availability of educational facilities, and so on. But, there are other factors that may influence an individual

to choose one residential location over another. Sometimes people simply "prefer" to live in one area rather than another with equal economic characteristics. Sometimes people appear to identify with a particular area regardless of its other characteristics. How important are these components of residential choice when an individual considers the possibility of moving? The idea that dependence is the main factor contributing to actual residential choice seems to be inadequate. The relationship between the importance of preference, identification, and dependence of residential location is open for further consideration. It is the purpose of this research to determine if preference, identification, as well as dependence, can be thought of as determinants of residential location.

Objectives

It is safe to state that people with different social and economic backgrounds will differ in the opinions they hold toward various aspects of human life. It is reasonable to expect that people differing with regard to migration status, that is, movers or stayers, will differ in the opinions they hold toward a particular residential location. However, the question remains, how do they differ? What are the salient components of the social and social-psychological variables, preference, identification, and dependence. There is no conclusive evidence about the way people use these factors in choosing a place of residence. Although this research deals with migration in general, its major concern is to study a subset of the migration decision-making

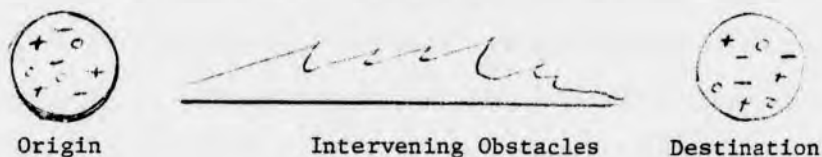
process. Specifying the meaning of preference, identification, and dependence, distinguishing their components, and their place in theories of migration decision-making is the objective of this research. Based on past theoretical contributions, several hypotheses will be used as guiding themes. The hypotheses that will be specified in the next chapter result from a combination of "things known" and what is still needed to develop a more comprehensive theory.

Review of Literature

Attempts to study the decision to move and the factors or reasons associated with migration have been approached from many different but complementary theoretical orientations. There are theories that are specific and unique to migration analysis, and there are theories of a more general nature that are applied to migration. In the literature there are numerous articles that deal implicitly with the variables of preference, identification, and dependence.

Most studies in migration may be categorized under the general heading of push-pull theory, as elaborated by Everett Lee. (Lee, 1966) Lee cited four factors that are attributable to the process of migration. They are: a) factors associated with area of origin, b) factors associated with the area of destination, c) intervening obstacles, and d) personal factors. The diagram below shows how these factors are related:

FIGURE 1.1: ORIGIN AND DESTINATION FACTORS AND
INTERVENING OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION



The "+" are those factors that attract people to the area; the "-" are those factors that repel people; and the "o" are neutral factors. The area between area of origin and destination represents those factors such as distance that inhibit or impede the decision to move to a given area. It is labelled as "push-pull" because those factors attracting people to move into an area (area of destination) are the pull conditions; and, those forcing people to move from their area of origin are referred to as push factors. Examples of each of these include:

Push factors: decline in natural resources, loss of employment, oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment and alienation, retreat for personal development.

Pull factors: superior opportunities for employment, opportunities to earn a larger income, opportunities to obtain desired specialized education or training, preferable environment and living conditions, dependency (movement of dependents with "breadwinner," and lure of new or different activities, environment, or people.

(Lee, 1966)

By weighing these factors as either positive, negative, or neutral, an individual could then choose between a set of alternative locations.

Research on the decision-making process is guided by several theoretical frameworks in social-psychology, especially theories of cognitive consistency and dissonance. Representative of this type of theory is Irving L. Janis' theory of stages in the decision-making process. (Janis, 1968). The main concern of this work is to identify how the individual evaluates information and alternatives, and then decides upon a course of action that is consistent with his beliefs. Janis divides the decision process into five stages. They are: (1) appraisal of the challenge, (2) appraisal of the recommended course of action, (3) selection of a selected alternative "R" as the best alternative, (4) commitment to the decision to adopt "R", and (5) adherence to "R" despite a negative feedback. (Janis, 1968, p. 577-588). This theory gives support to the idea that migration is a selective process and that individuals who consider changing their residences will appraise the alternative locations and choose a plan of action guided by their appraisals. Janis' general theory of the decision-making process describes the stages that an individual goes through when making a decision of any kind. Implicit in his theory is the notion that making a decision is a function of information about alternatives and a commitment and adherence to certain values by the individual. Alvin Boskoff elaborates on this idea when he discusses process theory and its orientation for sociological theory and research. (Boskoff, 1971).

Process theory pays special attention to "analytical phases" and linking mechanisms in the explanation of social phenomena. The

major contribution of this theory is its focus on three variables. These variables are the linking mechanisms and include opportunity variables, motivation and social perception variables, and social reinforcement variables. These three variables taken together form a complex statement detailing a time sequence. When an individual makes a decision regarding locational choice, these three sets of variables can be applied as the linking mechanism to explain migration. Although Boskoff's theory may be applied to migration, no attempt can be found in the literature that empirically tests process theory. However, there are several theoretical orientations that incorporate elements of process theory.

James Beshers offered a theoretical explanation linking migration decision-making with the mode of orientation of the individual decision-maker. He identified three modes of orientation: traditional, short-run hedonistic, and purposive-rational. The latter is relevant to this research because it assumes, as do the other theories presented here, that migration can be viewed as a "rational" process. The importance of the purposive-rational mode of orientation is that it "governs behavior through the establishment of internal psychological standards that set the context within which the individual extrapolates further expectations." (Beshers, 1962, p. 149). In the process of decision-making, the individual mentally notes alternatives and their consequences, states a criterion, compares the consequences to his criterion, and thereby selects a course of action and makes a decision. When the purposive-rational mode of orientation governs the individual

in his migration decision-making, it is assumed that the individual will choose his place of residence based on the systematic and calculated evaluation of alternatives and the perceived consequences of choosing each. Migration is an object of a decision process when individuals or families must choose a place to live. Thus, it is possible to "predict the occurrence of migration in a given time period as an outcome of a process of decision-making under social constraints... constrained by modes of orientation, social variables, and social-psychological decision processes." (Besher, 1967, p. 131-151).

The process of migration decision-making can be conceptualized in another way. Particularly relevant to this study are expected utility models or cost-benefit models. They attempt to explain the decision to move based on the assumption that individuals will choose from a set of alternatives the behavior that maximizes expected gains and minimizes expected losses. (Sjaastad, 1962; Wolpert, 1970; Speare, 1971; Lansing and Mueller, 1967). Wolpert states, "place utility may be expressed as a positive or negative quantity, expressing respectively the individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to the place." (Wolpert, 1970, p. 301). The potential migrant derives a measure of utility from the past or expected future reward at his stationary position. There is a decision process resulting from perceived differences in utility associated with different locations. A mover might anticipate "better" or more favorable conditions at a potential residential location. At the same time, it is possible to assume that a non-mover, or stayer is satisfied with his current

residence. Relating to the present study, dependence, preference, and identification, may be viewed as having a greater or lesser degree of utility. The decision to move is a consequence of the balance of these utilities.

Another theoretical approach is based on a stayer-mover dichotomy, or action-space framework. (Goldstein, 1958; McGinnis, 1968; Wolpert, 1970). Implications for this type of framework are noticeable in Goldscheider's work (1971) as he discusses the selectivity of out-migrants from an area in comparison with nonmigrants. While this approach is similar to utility models, the difference is that in the stayer-mover framework, emphasis is placed on the characteristics that distinguish movers from stayers. It assumes that there is a limited segment of the population making repeated moves who can be distinguished from another segment of the population who do not move. Factors, such as position in the life cycle, and duration of residence, are related to the propensity to move.

Finally, indices developed to relate perceived stress or needs with current residential satisfaction have also provided insight into the decision to move. (Rossi, 1955; Wolpert, 1966; Golant, 1971; Speare, 1974). The major focus of these studies is the motivation underlying the decision to move. Rossi's study is the most noted research of this kind. He developed an index of complaints to assess the factors associated with attitudes toward moving. According to Rossi:

It is fairly well demonstrated that residential mobility is primarily a matter of the interaction of households with particular housing needs, with particular dwellings

which do or do not meet these needs. Residential mobility consists of the adjustive reactions of households to their housing needs.

(Rossi, 1955, p. 97)

All of the above theoretical frameworks are similar in their orientations. The terms utility, stayers versus movers, or stress and needs, all imply and are related to the push-pull model. If an alternative residential site is perceived to hold more utility, or offers desired needs, then the individual will be "pulled" to that particular site, or "pushed" out from current residence. On the other hand, if utility and needs are satisfactory at current residence, then no movement is expected.

To summarize, the decision to move or stay is a complex process. It involves a set of alternatives of perceived differences at two or more places. It can be hypothesized that the decision to locate in a particular area is related to how an individual prefers, identifies, and depends on that area. If all of these factors are important, the decision to migrate is affected in that an individual can then make a choice between his set of alternatives.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL DESIGN

The decision to move depends on how individuals identify, prefer, and depend on alternative locations. Therefore, to determine the propensity to move, one must assess the degree of association between current residence and area of identification, preference, and dependence. It is assumed that an individual will evaluate the alternatives available at different areas in terms of these three variables. The decisive factor related to residential choice is that, based on this evaluation, the individual should choose the location that best suits his needs and expectations.

The underlying assumption for this research, is that the independent variables, identification, preference, and dependence, may yield distinct choices of residential location. This follows from the idea that an individual may perceive a particular area of identification, another area of preference, and, yet another area of dependence. That is, the area where the individual is living may not be the area that he actually prefers or identifies as being "home." If there is no discrepancy between current residence and area of identification, preference, and dependence, it is possible to assume that the probability is low that migration is being contemplated by the individual. On the other hand, when these areas are different, the decision to move may be highly probable.

To evaluate the differences and similarities between current residential location and the area of identification, the area of preference, and the area of dependence, several propositions and hypotheses have been developed. These hypotheses show the expected relationships between identification, preference, dependence and the decision to move. The strength of the relationship between the variables will indicate the probability of future movement. The hypotheses are:

General Proposition: Identification is involved in the decision to move or stay. There is a close association between identification with, and the decision to reside in, a particular area.

Specific Propositions:

1. Families or individuals with a high degree of attachment and interaction with their extended families are likely to seek a residential location that facilitates this orientation.
2. Families or individuals who are adjusted and actively participate in community activities are likely to identify with that area.

Hypothesis:

The less a person identifies with an area, the more likely will be his decision to move.

General Propositions: Preference is involved in the decision to move or stay. There is a close association between preference for, and the decision to reside in, a particular area.

Specific Propositions:

1. A family or an individual is likely to reside in an area that provides the desired "style of life" that accompanies his perceived social status.
2. Family life cycle stages are likely to influence preference factors associated with location choice.

Hypothesis:

The less a person prefers an area, the more likely will be his decision to move.

General Propositions: Dependence is involved in the decision to move or stay. There is a close association between dependence on, and the decision to reside in, a particular area.

Specific Propositions:

1. The availability of job and/or educational facilities desired by the individual is likely to influence his decision to reside in a particular area.
2. A family or individual who is dependent on special services, such as medical services, businesses, transportation facilities, and so on, is likely to reside in an area that satisfies those needs.

Hypothesis:

The less a person is dependent on an area, the more likely will be his decision to move.

As evident from the above, the first hypothesis is concerned with identification and the decision to move. It is assumed that identification will influence an individual's residential choice. The second hypothesis deals with preference and the decision to move. The third hypothesis pertains to the effects of dependence on the decision to move.

Analytic Framework

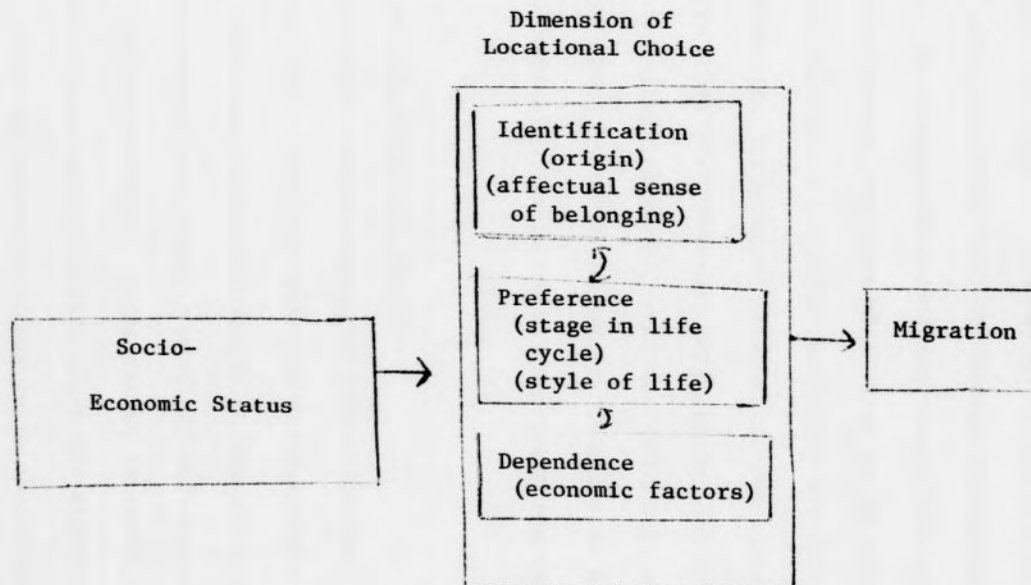
The selection of variables for inclusion in this study was based upon past research findings and theoretical developments in the area of migration decision-making. The primary focus is to illustrate the way

in which identification, preference, and dependence affect an individual's residential choice. This framework contains three independent variables, identification, preference, and dependence. (See Figure 2.1). It is assumed that each of these is a distinct component of residential choice. These three dimensions of residential choice influence an individual's decision to move or stay in a particular area.

Identification is a social-psychological component of residential choice. It is assumed that an individual will have a feeling or affect toward a specific geographic area or place. Identification may be defined in terms of community, or familial security. The importance of this factor may be directly responsible for an individual's residential choice. If the identification component is maximized, that is, if the individual evaluates identification as the most salient factor of residential choice, then the individual's area of identification and current residence would be expected to be the same.

While an individual may choose his place of residence based on identification alone, this is unlikely. By introducing another dimension, preference, more of the variance in residential choice may be explained. Preference can best be defined as a dimension of choice based on factors such as, style of life factors, and family life cycle patterns. An individual may perceive a particular type of area of preference associated with these factors. When this is so, it can be expected that the individual's choice of residential location would be similar to his area of preference. This implies another dimension of

FIGURE 2.1: ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK



residential choice existing in the process of decision-making and migration. If preference is a strong indicator of residential choice, then the decision to move or stay would depend upon how much the individual feels his current residence corresponds to his preference.

Finally, there is a dimension of dependence. This component of residential choice has been documented frequently in previous research. That is, the effects of occupation, education, and other economic factors influence, and determine where an individual will live.

This discussion suggests that there are relationships between identification, preference, dependence, and the decision to move. There are numerous hypotheses implicit in this analytic framework. The present study, however, will deal with only a limited number of these. Much of this, by necessity, is aimed at exploring the nature of these variables, rather than validating the entire theoretical scheme.

Dimensions of Locational Choice

Individual choices regarding identification, preference, and dependence are related to migration differentials. Migration differentials have been used consistently in migration analysis. Such variables as age, sex, race, education, and occupation, seem to be standard in any research. In migration research, dividing the population into various categories has shown how migration is a selective process. That is, migration tends to be concentrated among the young (Bogue, 1969), and among males for long distances (Lee, 1966; Bogue, 1969). Race has been shown to be an important factor, especially with

respect to migration streams. (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Sorkin, 1967). And, migration occurs more among the higher white collar workers than among blue collar workers. (Masnick, 1968; Miller, 1960). Some research has also suggested that unemployed persons are likely to move in search of employment in other areas. (Sorkin, 1967).

The individual's stage in the life cycle is another variable that has important consequences for migration. Although young single persons experience a higher rate of migration than other groups, never-married persons were not included in the present study. However, there are several stages during married life when family composition changes, i.e. addition of children, death, or divorce, that may influence the decision to move. (Bogue, 1969).

And finally, the longer an individual resides in an area, the more likely that individual will not consider changing his residence. This assumption follows the idea that the longer one resides in a particular area, bonds and commitments to the community increase and moving becomes more difficult.

Although the above variables are important to migration analysis, they can only describe the characteristics of a potential mover. They can not be used to explain the reasons why one individual may move and another may not move. It is apparent that the decision to move involves a more complex process. The reasons, attitudes, and demands on the individual must be considered. The independent variables used in this research comprise the social and social-psychological determinants that may indicate the underlying forces in the decision to move.

These social and social-psychological determinants may be classified into three types. The first type has been labelled as identification. It assumes that people have some affect or emotional tie to an area. At the root of this concept is the notion that people develop attitudes about themselves in relation to others. To fully understand the concept of identification, it must be assumed that people may identify with others in their environment, or residential area. In this particular case, that identification with others is extended to include an emerging identification with place of residence. Consequently a feeling of belonging to a community is reflected as the identification component.

The style of life that a person might choose for himself falls under the heading of preference, the second class of variables. Preference refers to the social setting that is desired by the individual. The way the individual chooses to express those desires and wants is a component of preference.

The third type of determinant is dependence. Basically this is an economic component of residential choice centering around job opportunities and educational needs. It is assumed that individuals are dependent upon an area that provides the means for advancement and achievement that they desire. These variables show dependence on an area. How the three determinants are evaluated and how they affect the decision to move or stay will be discussed in the analysis of the data in Chapter Four.

Identification

Identification is an emotional component of location choice. It is a feeling or affect that one may have toward a specific geographical area. To identify with an area means to recognize it as a place where one may find that psychological and emotional support. The identified area is one in which a person experiences a "sense of community," or a "feeling of belonging." In other words, this area refers to a "home area." It is an area where one may have a feeling of security and stability. This is brought about through close personal relationships and emotional ties, rooted in the commitments to families and to neighborhood affairs and activities. It is an area, where one may feel relatively free and comfortable in his interactions with others. This implies close personal contact. Through that contact and interaction, the feeling of being "at home" is enhanced. As people develop attitudes about themselves in relation to others, and as meaningful relationships are established, this feeling is extended to include an identification with place of residence and community. Thus, it is proposed that a person can identify with a particular area because it has some attributes of a "true" community.

Indicators of identification do not appear in the literature as often as indicators of preference. Often family characteristics such as stage in the life cycle are listed as being a component of preference, but this occurs when no distinction has been made between preference and identification. (Hansen, 1973; Friguitt and Zuiches, 1975). There is another component, however, that falls under the heading of

identification: familism. According to Sabagh, van Arsdol, and Butler, familism is "in part, a social-psychological counterpart of the family life-cycle and expresses the value placed on nuclear extended family activities." (1969, p. 94). Familism in this respect is the degree of attachment and interaction among family members and relatives. If the value that is placed on this type of interaction is high, then the decision to move or stay may be based on satisfaction with current residence to provide such interaction.

Identification has also been discussed in terms of neighboring. (Bell, 1958; Fava, 1958). Factors that describe neighboring in a community include amount of community participation and a sense of belonging to the community. Identification is expressed in terms of how the community experience affects the individual. Closely associated with this idea is that of adjustment. Windham (1961), used adjustment as a factor relating urban identification with adjustment of rural migrants in Pittsburgh. An index of attitudes toward preference of life in Pittsburgh was used to measure the degree of identification with that area. This index included feelings of belonging, friendliness, satisfaction, amount of social life, and number of friends. An added dimension of this study was the effect of length of residence. Windham reported a positive association between length of residence and identification. Thus, as the individual resides in an area for a longer period of time, adjustment and consequently identification with the area increased.

Preference

Preference has been used extensively in previous research. The difficulty with its uses and interpretation is in the ambiguity of the term preference. This term has been used to refer to many different types of reasons for why people move. A closer examination of this research suggests that the term has been used to refer to both preference, as the term is used here, and identification. In this research, they are treated as two different aspects of residential choice. The distinction between preference and identification is clear. Preference refers to "objective" style of life preferences, preferred standards of living, and consummation. Identification, on the other hand, refers to a "subjective" or "emotional" commitment to a residential area, and to patterns of familism and neighboring.

Preference also has a status dimension to it. It incorporates social characteristics and status factors that differentiate one residential area from another. Preference factors are evident in all instances of social interaction. Every way of acting and every social encounter is a statement of one's tastes and aspirations. The fact that individuals have different preferences and that residential areas cater to these differences, suggests that there are status attributes that determine whether a particular residential location is acceptable or is a desirable place to live. If the individual's current residence does not provide the social opportunities and desired facilities needed for such expression of his "tastes," then migration may be considered. In this case, moving may be the only alternative that will allow the

individual to maximize desired social opportunities and style of life preferences. In other words, individuals will try to find a residential area that has an affinity with the social situation to which they aspire.

In previous research, preferred places have been defined as desired residential areas in terms of size of place and proximity to larger cities. (Friguitt and Zuiches, 1975). Using preference in this manner, reasons given as preference for one area were stated in terms of style of life available at different places. Style of life referents in this case were based on facilities that would provide the setting for participation in various activities. Some of these references included job opportunities, educational facilities, recreational and cultural facilities, and places suitable for raising children. The use of an index of social mobility aspirations is another method to measure preference differences among individuals. (Sabagh, van Arsdol, and Butler, 1969). The reasoning behind this component of preference is related to social status and to some extent consummership.

Style of life preferences have also been equated with a desire for home ownership and country life. (Bell, 1958; Sabagh, 1969; Ross, 1962). The idea of owning one's home has many implications. Preferences may be expressed in terms of neighborhood attractiveness, and other aesthetic attributes. Or, a location may be preferred because of the perceived status of the other residents in it. Finally, with regard to housing preference, Rossi's study (1955), indicates how satisfaction with a home changes as stages in the life cycle change. Consequently, preferences change.

Preferences then, refer to "taste." They include the social or cultural inputs which may influence a person's decision to reside in a particular area. The availability and accessibility of recreational, cultural, and leisure facilities are examples of preference factors. Family attributes such as stage in the life cycle, number of children, income, education, and race are factors related to preference because they influence the decisions family members make, or the way they evaluate features of potential destinations.

Dependence

The third dimension of residential choice is dependence. Dependence refers to instrumental and utilitarian economic and social factors that bind an individual to a particular location. Dependence takes into account the economic necessities required to achieve and maintain the elements implicit in the dimension of preference discussed earlier. Studies dealing with dependence as a major variable are found frequently in the literature. In fact, dependence is probably the most documented variable in migration analysis. Usually, studies dealing with migration differentials present the importance of economic considerations in residential choice. (Duncan, 1966; Miller, 1966; Sorkin, 1967).

Economic considerations, such as job and educational opportunities available at one location may be among the primary reasons that affect the decision to move. In order to meet financial responsibilities, the search for a job may determine an individual's residential location. Occupation is a factor influencing residential choice and migration by means of obtaining a "better job," or job transfers which

would require moving to a new place or moving within a given area. In this respect, the desire for occupational advancement may require an individual to consider the possibilities of moving as a means of achieving a new position in the economic realm. This assumes that one wants to maximize one's position by taking advantage of available opportunities. Similarly, being unemployed may have the same effect, in that an individual may move in search of employment. (Masnick, 1968). Education would also be expected to follow this trend. Thus, an individual may be dependent and consequently decide to reside in an area where opportunities to obtain education or training, such as college, may be found or where the source of income is located.

Another dimension of dependence refers to the availability of consumer needs and services. An individual may choose one location over another in order to be closer to services that are frequently used. Where children are present, dependence might be evident in the choice of a particular school district. Other indicators of dependence in this frame of reference are hospitals, and medical services, business services, and shopping facilities.

Finally, dependence includes the availability of limited access services and facilities. For people who rely on public transportation, choosing a location near those services is another component of dependence. This includes proximity to airports, railroads, and bus services.

Summary

In summary, residential choice has at least three dimensions: dependence, identification, and preference. A family's or an individual's

actual place of residence reflects a combined influence of these analytically distinct components of choice. Locational choice is a composite of both economic and social-psychological needs and an attempt to satisfy those needs. The importance of preference, identification, and dependence are the basic variables being used to evaluate decision-making in migration.

The specific indicators used on the interview schedule to gather data pertaining to preference, identification and dependence, are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

Migration analysis is characterized by a lack of definitive evidence and theory. (Thomas, 1938). There is no definite theoretical orientation or research design that describes the complex process of migration decision-making in its entirety. For this reason, the principles of grounded theory are being employed in this research. (Glaser and Strauss, 1975). The absence of formalized hypotheses and generally accepted propositions in migration analysis supported the need for grounded theory: a theory generated from the data. According to Glaser and Strauss,

Generating a theory from the data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research.

(Glaser and Strauss, 1975, p. 6).

Although the principles of grounded theory were employed during the course of the research, this does not deny the theoretical contributions that have been made up to this point. As used here, grounded theory was a means of assessing the ideas of preference, identification, and dependence with empirical evidence.

Definition of Migration

The first question that arises is, what is migration, or specifically, when is a mover a migrant? Although there are many factors that

can be taken into account, migration is generally defined in geographical units. Some definitions are restrictive, including as migrants only people who have moved across political or administrative boundaries. (United Nations, 1970). Other definitions, as in this study, "incorporate into the definition of migration all moves of a permanent or semipermanent change of residence with no restrictions placed on distance." (Goldscheider, 1971, p. 60). The definition used in this study must be qualified one more step. That is, migrants are classified as those who indicated a predisposition to move, but who had not already moved.

Operationalization of the Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is generally migration, and specifically, the decision to move. The distinction between movers and stayers can be defined in terms of a predisposition to move. Thus, movers may be defined as respondents who indicate an intention to move. In this research, that intention was indicated by people by placing their homes up for sale. The criteria for movers was first, that the respondents' homes were for sale; and second, that the respondents were planning to move out of it. Stayers, or non-movers, were defined as those persons planning to remain in their current residence, as indicated by the fact that their homes were not for sale. Thus, the stayer population comprised people who had not put their houses up for sale.

Operationalization of the Independent Variables

Approaching the independent variables from a grounded theory perspective, the factors associated with the decision to migrate, preference, identification, and dependence, were studied without an extensive preconceived theory that would dictate the meanings of each concept. Previous research and theoretical orientations were used as guiding principles and sources, but were not relied upon as the only or final explanation. The precise nature of the three variables here related to migration were generated from the data. General categories of locational choice and their properties were extracted during the research process. By combining the meanings that were generated by the data in this research, with the structure provided from prior research as a guide, a substantive theoretical contribution to theory in migration decision-making is sought. As explained in Chapter 2, the independent variables are the importance of preference, identification, and dependence. Past research and theory has indicated that these variables may be the most salient factors, indicating the economic and social-psychological conditions that individuals evaluate before making a decision to move.

Development of Interview Schedule

Given the nature of the type of information that had to be obtained, interviews seemed to be the most feasible research instrument. It was desired to obtain a sample of movers to compare with a sample of stayers. This method seemed to be the most appropriate means for

several reasons. First, interviews are the most flexible means of gathering information. An interview would allow the respondents to talk freely about their reasons for moving or staying. This was an important consideration, given the exploratory attitudinal nature of the research. Answers to open-ended questions could be asked first, and recorded without the risk of prompting responses from categories given at the end of the interview schedule. This eliminated part of the risk of imposing preconceived ideas of preference, identification, and dependence on the respondent, as well as being beneficial to the interviewer to acquire a "feel" for the data.

Second, when choosing the sample population, the number of movers and stayers could be controlled. When only a limited number of people can be reached, this is the most effective way of obtaining enough cases in all cells of a factorial sampling design.

Based, in part, on existing migration theory, and in part, on theories of decision-making, the interview schedule was developed. Respondents were asked in a variety of ways to indicate the reasons why they were moving from their present residence, or why they were not moving. They were asked to give the reasons why they liked a particular place and what factors were important to them in assessing a desirable place to live.

The actual interview schedule was developed to measure (a) various attitudes about current residence and other residential choices, (b) indicators of identification, preference, and dependence, (c) the importance of these factors in relating to the decision to move or stay, and (d) to obtain relevant background information.

The interview schedule (see Appendix A) was divided into six parts. The first part consisted of background variables such as age, sex, race, education, occupation, marital status, and number of children. The second part was constructed to tap migration histories and ideals and decision making regarding the choice to move. Respondents were asked to state previous residences and duration of residence in each. This section also contained several open-ended questions aimed at finding out reasons if and why the respondents were moving, the places they liked best, and the places they associated with as the ideal place to live.

Parts three, four, and five of the interview schedule dealt with the three main independent variables, preference, dependence, and identification, respectively. The section on preference included indicators tapping style of life, consummation, importance and extent of interaction with others, and housing satisfaction. Section four, dependence, consisted of questions concerning proximity to schools, shopping and other services, and job related factors. The fifth section, identification, concentrated on factors associated with "feelings of belonging," and "sense of community." Proximity and extent of interaction with parents, relatives, and friends, and community affiliation and participation were the factors used to measure identification.

The last part included three indices: an index of identification, an index of preference, and an index of dependence. These were used for further documentation of the factors associated with the decision to move and the reasons for moving.

After several revisions, deletions, and modifications, the interview schedule was finalized. All interviews were conducted by the author. Initial contacts were made by telephone, followed by a personal visit to the homes of the respondents. These interviews ran during a two month period, between June 9, 1976 to July 29, 1976. Construction of the sample and characteristics of the sample are presented in the last section of this chapter.

Analytic Procedures

The procedures used for analysis in this study were justified given the limitations of the type and precision of the data. Because this study was designed to identify the importance of factors underlying the decision to move, factor analysis was selected as one of the primary analytic procedures.

Factor analysis attempts to isolate one or more dimensions which underlie a given set of variables. The idea behind factor analysis is to extract and identify what may be an unapparent variable underlying several other variables that are believed to be highly correlated with each other. Its value lies in its descriptive and exploratory capabilities. This technique was employed in the study because the main purpose was to measure the importance of a wide range of variables and to discover if there were, in fact, three distinct components of residential choice.

The factor analysis was used on the responses to the closed questions taken from sections three, four, and five of the interview schedule. Three factors were extracted from this analysis. Factor scores for

each respondent were computed and were used in subsequent analyses.

Although factor analysis was the primary technique used, frequencies were obtained first. Frequency counts enabled checking and further verification that the data were properly coded. More importantly, frequencies are a meaningful procedure to determine the basic distributional characteristics of the variables. This in itself, can provide insight and direction for further analysis.

Another technique used for subsequent analysis was multivariate or triple specification three-way analysis. (Davis, 1971). This was used to determine if there were conditional relationships that specified the conditions under which the importance of preference, identification, and dependence might emerge as distinct components of locational choice.

Population and Sample

The sample population was designed to represent a cross-section of people who use realtors when selling their homes in Greensboro, North Carolina. The city of Greensboro, North Carolina was selected for sampling based on the assessability and on the necessity of restricting the sample to one area. Ideally a sample would have included both rural and urban areas, as well as urban areas with varying population sizes and densities. Although this restriction limits generalizing and comparing the results with other types of areas, it was believed that sampling one area would be sufficient, again, given the exploratory nature of the research.

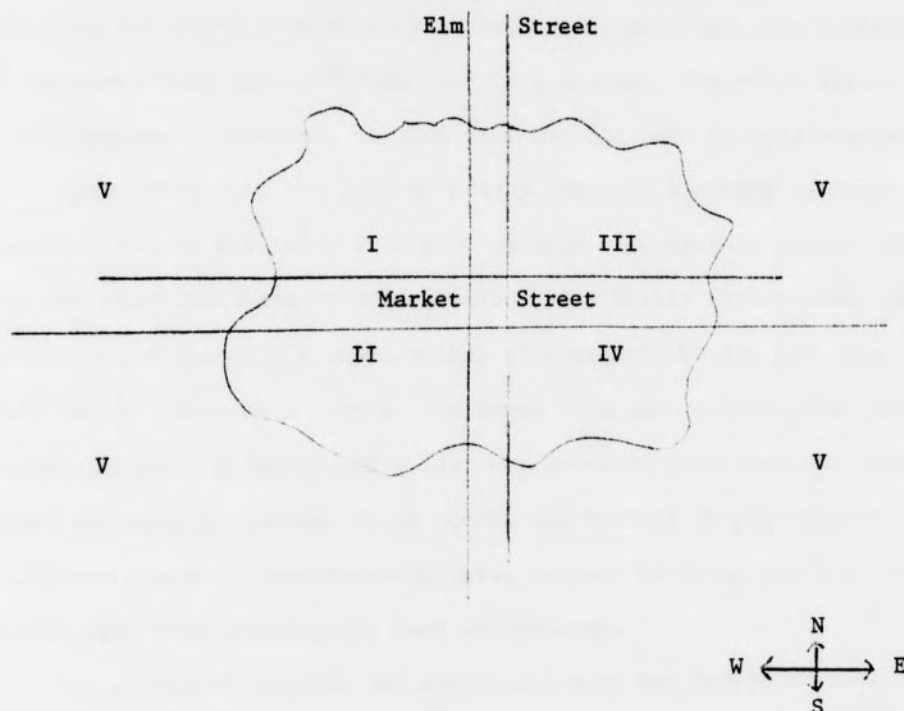
The city of Greensboro offered one advantage in that it is surrounded by rural areas. This fact is important because many respondents had rural backgrounds. Consequently, people with rural and urban origins were represented in the sample. Sampling only one area had another advantage. Current residence was controlled. Choosing all respondents from the same area facilitated the construction of preference, identification, and dependence indices, which were used in the questionnaire.

Two sample populations were drawn from the Greensboro area in order to obtain one sample of movers, and one sample of stayers. Initially, only white males who currently owned a house were to be eligible for either sample. Renters were not included. The criteria of restricting the sample to white males was abandoned when it became apparent that there were not enough willing participants.

The first step of the sampling procedure was to get a listing of houses that were for sale. In Greensboro, all houses that are being sold by realtors must be placed in the multiple listing service. That is a booklet containing information about all houses for sale, which is then updated and distributed weekly to area real estate firms. It was from the multiple listing that the mover sample was acquired.

Specifically, the listing is divided into five geographical sections. As Figure 3.1 shows, sections one through four are divided by Market Street, which runs from east to west, and Elm Street, which runs from north to south. Section one includes the area between North Elm Street and West Market Street; section two extends from South

FIGURE 3.1: SECTION DIVISIONS IN GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA



Elm Street to West Market Street; Section three includes the area between North Elm Street and East Market Street; and section four comprises the area between South Elm Street and East Market Street. Section five includes the areas that are outside the city limits surrounding the other four sections. Because of cost and time limitations, rural areas were excluded from the study design. Since the rural dimension was eliminated, section five was not used in this research.

After obtaining the list of houses for sale a random sample of occupied houses was taken from each section. An overall random sample was not practical because some sections were highly represented, while others contained only a small number of available houses for sale. This sample produced a list of ten names from each section that qualified for the study. An alternative list was obtained from the same booklet which was used to replace those people who refused to participate. This same procedure was repeated using current listings until seven people from each section had been interviewed.

The sample of stayers was contingent upon the sample of movers. For every person who was moving out of a section of Greensboro, the stayer sample was obtained by getting the name of a person who lived in the same neighborhood as the mover. In order to insure randomness, a set of dice was thrown. If the number that appeared was even, then houses to the right of the mover were considered eligible. If the number was odd, then houses to the left of the mover were considered. Once direction was established, the dice were thrown again. This time, the number that appeared, indicated the exact house that should be

interviewed. For example, if a 4, and then a 3 were rolled, the third house to the right was chosen for the stayer sample. The city directory provided the names of the occupants of each dwelling. Again, an alternate was chosen each time, in the event that the first person contacted could not be reached.

The final sample consisted of 56 respondents. From each section, seven movers and seven stayers were interviewed, or fourteen people were interviewed from each section. The sample of movers and stayers was evenly divided so that there were twenty-eight movers and twenty-eight stayers. As mentioned earlier, the criteria of interviewing only white males was abandoned. Of the 56 respondents, 51 were males and 5 were females. A further breakdown by race, showed that there were 52 white respondents and 4 Blacks. Other demographic characteristics of the sample will be discussed in the next section.

General Characteristics of the Population

Among the sample of Greensboro residents, twenty-eight respondents were movers and twenty-eight were stayers, for a total of fifty-six respondents. Table 3.1 provides a profile of the sample by selected background characteristics. These characteristics include sex, race, education, occupation, and marital status.

The original sampling plan was to include only White males. As evident from Table 3.1, five females were interviewed. This occurred in the cases where the husband was out of town, or the woman was the principle wage earner, because she was divorced or widowed. Black respondents were included when it became apparent that Blacks were highly

TABLE 3.1: PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Selected Characteristics	Total Sample		Movers		Stayers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
SEX:						
Male	51	91	23	82	28	100
Female	5	9	5	18	0	0
Total	56	100	28	100	28	100
Race:						
White	52	93	26	98	26	93
Black	4	7	2	7	2	7
Total	56	100	28	100	28	100
EDUCATION:						
High School	19	34	11	39	8	29
Business School	5	9	4	14	11	4
College	32	57	13	46	19	76
Total	65	100	28	100	28	100
$\chi^2=2.144, \alpha=.34$						
Occupation:						
Professional	32	60	13	46	19	76
Sales	4	8	3	11	1	4
Skilled	13	24	8	29	5	20
Unemployed	4	8	4	14	0	0
Total	53*	100	28	100	25*	100
$\chi^2=5.325, \alpha=.07$						
Marital Status:						
Married	47	84	22	79	25	89
Divorced	4	7	2	7	2	7
Widowed	5	9	4	14	1	4
Total	56	100	28	100	28	100

*Does not include three people who were retired.

representative of the movers in one section of Greensboro, and that White movement out of that section might, in part, be a response to Black migration into it.

The amount of education was not related significantly to moving or staying, ($\chi^2=2.144$, $\alpha = .34$). The number of respondents in each education category appeared in similar proportions for movers and stayers. It is important to note, however, that the total sample included respondents who had only high school education as well as college graduates. With regard to occupation, the differences between movers and stayers are again, minimal, with one exception. All of the respondents who stated that they were unemployed were found in the mover sample. Thus, while occupation per se, is not significant in providing a distinction between movers and stayers, employment status is, given the fact that unemployed respondents indicated a desire to move. Finally, fourty-seven of the fifty-six respondents were married, four were divorced, and five were widowed.

It should be noted that the sample population in relation to the population of Greensboro as a whole was not a representative sample. In general, findings on migration suggest that approximately 20 percent of the total population are movers. (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1974). Thus, the sample population for both movers and stayers reflects the bias that is inherent in the selectivity of the migration process. Moreover, the sample was designed to be evenly divided between movers and stayers. It should also be noted that the total population of Greensboro in 1970 was 144,076 persons, of which, 70.2 percent are White

and 29.8 percent are Non-White. Thus, in the following discussion, generalizations from the sample population should be treated carefully.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The primary empirical question in this study is to determine whether or not the theoretical dimensions of preference, identification, and dependence may be viewed as distinct components of migration decision-making. Factor analysis, along with responses to several open-ended question, provide the means for determining the form and nature of the independent variables. Each will be discussed separately. The factors associated with preference are discussed first, followed by identification, and then dependence. The last part of the analysis tests if these three variables are related to moving or staying.

Dimensions of Preference, Identification, and Dependence

One method to measure the importance of preference, identification, and dependence is to determine if several items taken from the interview schedule seem to tap the same basic dimension. One appropriate technique by which this can be done is factor analysis. The advantage of this method is that if a basic dimension exists, that is, if among several variables there is an unapparent variable that underlies the several variables under consideration, it will appear as a factor. This assumes that several variables are highly correlated with each other, and that there is an underlying factor that will unify these items under that factor. In other words, it extracts the maximum common variance between variables with a factor.

The first step in factor analysis is to establish the correlation between all the variables. Twelve items were included in this matrix. They were availability of recreational facilities, availability of cultural facilities, neighbors with similar interests, safety, place to raise children, neighborhood attractiveness, nearness to parents, nearness to relatives, nearness to friends, nearness to job, nearness to schools, and nearness to shopping facilities. Three factors were extracted.

Preference

The first factor can be identified as preference. As shown in Table 4.1, seven items define preference. They are: availability of recreational facilities, availability of cultural facilities, neighbors with similar interests, safety, place to raise children, neighborhood attractiveness, and nearness to school. It is interesting to note that two of the items have loadings over .80, and the other five exceed .40. These results confirm the hypothesized dimension of preference in that they all indicate choices of style of life factors or deal with "tastes" and thus preferences for a particular residential location.

Further, although "softer" and more subjective, support for preference as a dimension of residential choice comes from the responses to several open-ended questions that were included in the interview schedule. In editing the replies to these questions, components of preference, similar to those with the high loadings on factor one were evident. One question where responses of preference were indicated

TABLE 4.1: PREFERENCE, IDENTIFICATION, AND DEPENDENCE WITH
SELECTED ITEMS: VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX**

ITEMS	FACTOR LOADINGS		
	I Preference	II Identification	III Dependence
Availability of recreational facilities	.40*	-.02	.47*
Availability of cultural facilities	.53*	-.18	.41*
Neighbors with similar interests	.62*	.05	.22
Safety	.84*	.34*	.05
Place to Raise children	.86*	.10	.23
Neighborhood attractiveness	.66*	-.01	.18
Nearness to job	.06	-.06	.32*
Nearness to school	.47*	-.55*	.46*
Nearness to shopping facilities	.14	.26	.69*
Nearness to parents	.07	.88*	.17
Nearness to relatives	-.01	.95*	-.20
Nearness to friends	-.07	.33*	.00

**Subsequent analysis using oblique rotation provided similar results.

* Factor-defining items.

as components of residential choice was, Where would you like to live, and Why would you like to live there? The following are some examples of the replies:

Atlanta is a larger city and there is more for a young family to do. The schools are better, more variety.

We want to be closer to everything. We want more variety in houses, they are too homogeneous here. We want to move up, there are pretty homes in the older areas. I don't like the subdivision, houses are cheaply built, rough neighborhood. And, we don't like the people's way of raising children.

Orlando, my family enjoys the beach and the hot weather.

Other questions elicited similar responses. For instance, when asked why a particular place was liked best, typical responses included, "it has more to offer everyone in the family," "there were more people who liked to do the same things," "like a rural environment, but like to have access to things in Greensboro," and "people are friendly." As is evident from the responses, preference is expressed in terms of social and housing characteristics that are important to the individual or family.

Identification

Identification was previously defined as an affective element of residential choice and emerged as factor two. It was hypothesized that identification assumed dimensions of family and community commitment, and of participation in activities such as neighboring, that would enhance a sense of belonging to a particular area. If a factor is to be labelled identification, then the items corresponding to family

and friends should have high factor loadings. Table 4.1 shows the factor loadings from the varimax rotated factor matrix for factor two. Using the same criteria as described earlier for selecting a meaningful relationship between a factor and the items, four items emerge as those defining this factor. They are: nearness to relatives, nearness to parents, safety, and nearness to friends.

There is one item, safety, that loads on both factor one and factor two. Although an item having high loadings on two factors is not usually desirable, there is a logical basis for safety being a component of identification as well as preference. Respondents were asked to state the importance of safety in choosing a home. It is possible that the ambiguity of the question leads to two different interpretations. As in the case where safety is a component of preference, the interpretation would follow that a "safe" neighborhood is a desirable place to live. On the other hand, safety could be interpreted as "feeling safe," or "being comfortable" which would then be a component of identification. The argument, perhaps, supports safety as a component of preference rather than identification because the factor loading of .84 with factor one is considerably greater than for identification where the loading was closer to the minimum at .34.

It is also interesting to note, that one item, nearness to school, had a high negative factor loading with identification (-.55). A high negative loading such as this, is significant in that it indicates that nearness to school is not a component of identification, and therefore adds further clarification to the definition of identification.

The four factor-defining items were expressed in the responses of people to the open-ended questions. Identification as a distinct dimension of residential choice was evident in the responses to the question, "How much do you feel you belong in this neighborhood?" The responses to this question dealt with feelings of attachment to current residence. Some examples of these responses include:

I have lived here a long time, if that is a reflection of belonging, then very much. I feel a lot of attachment to this place. My wife and I had a lot of memories here.

This is my home, I feel a part of it. My friends, we depend on one another. Friends look to me and we visit. They ask for advice. Always will be home even if I leave it, my roots are so deep.

Negative responses to this question, or the absence of a feeling of belonging, also provide some insight into the meaning of identification. For example, one respondent stated, "not much, we belong in the country. This has been an ok place to live, but I never felt comfortable here." This response is typical of others who said that they did not feel "part of the community," or "we are not involved in any neighborhood activities."

Finally, when the movers were asked why they were moving, some of the respondents indicated a desire to be closer to other members of the family or to move to an area where they felt more "at home." The following replies are representative of identification as a reason for moving:

My son lives there and he wants me to move closer. I want to be with him.

My wife comes from there. She wants to go back with parents and friends.

Too many memories of my husband.

Identification is clearly a distinct dimension of residential choice. The four items that clustered around this factor, as well as the direct replies, demonstrate that an affective attachment to an area supports the labelling of identification as a factor entering into migration decision-making.

Dependence

The third dimension of residential choice is dependence. Dependence was defined as a social and economic dimension of residential choice, incorporating the influence of occupation, education, and other economic factors that bind an individual to a particular area. The third factor that was extracted in the factor analysis consists of a set of items that define dependence. The varimax rotated factor matrix with factor three is also presented in Table 4.1. There are five items that define factor three. These items are: nearness to shopping facilities, availability of recreational facilities, nearness to school, availability of cultural facilities, and nearness to job.

The fact that availability of recreational facilities and availability of cultural facilities were also associated with preference is problematic. The factor loadings for these two items with factor one were .40 and .53. The difference between the association of these items

with factor one and factor three is minimal. This suggests that the items correlate highly with both preference and dependence. It is possible that availability of recreational facilities and availability of cultural facilities are components of both factors, reflecting two different interpretations of the question. As a component of preference, they indicate a style of life preference. That is, these facilities are preferred in that they provide the means for expressing one's style of life. On the other hand, they can be a component of dependence. If these facilities are localized, that is, if they are only available in particular types of areas, then there is a dependence on that area which provides those facilities. The other items with high loadings on factor three are unique to this factor. Nearness to job, nearness to school, and nearness to shopping facilities point to the existence of a dependence dimension. These are clearly economic dependencies on an area.

The findings from the factor analysis correspond with responses from the open-ended question with regard to dependence. Economic reasons associated with residential location were edited as components of dependence. Responses such as, job transfers, closer to work, to finish school, or the schools are better were typical of those defined as components of dependence. Specifically, when the movers were asked why they were moving, dependence factors were explicitly stated. For example:

We are moving for financial reasons. I have a new job going there and I am transferring.

We only came here so that I could finish school. I just got my degree, so we are moving back to Asheville. I might have a job there.

Finally, when both movers and stayers were asked to state the place they liked best and why, some respondents referred to the social-economic aspects that were available at that specific place. Examples included:

We liked it there, but I was out of work. We had to move.

The schools were better.

Before I retired, we were constantly moving because I was in the Navy. We always liked Hawaii best, but had to go where I was sent.

Have my business here, am successful. We might move again, but we are settled now.

It appears that dependence is another distinct dimension of residential choice. The results of the factor analysis and further support from the open-ended questions validate the existence of dependence as a major factor in migration decision-making.

In summary, the importance of preference, identification, and dependence have emerged as distinct dimensions of residential choice. The three factors that were extracted, and the items that clustered around each factor support the hypothesized dimensions of preference, identification, and dependence. Taken together, the three factors explain 92 percent of the total variance. The results of the factor analysis indicate a substantial agreement with the responses to the open-ended questions. Appendix B shows the frequency distribution from

each of the open-ended questions for preference, identification, and dependence.

Preference, Identification, Dependence and Migration

The critical question remaining is to test whether or not these three factors, preference, identification, and dependence are related to residential choice and subsequent migration. The research hypotheses to be tested are 1) the less a person prefers an area, the more likely will be his decision to move; 2) the less a person identifies with an area, the more likely will be his decision to move; and 3) the less a person is dependent on an area, the more likely will be his decision to move. One would expect that movers should be less dependent on their current place of residence, and have less identification with, and preference for it than stayers. Specifically, the hypotheses tested assess the differences in the importance that movers and stayers attribute to dependence, identification, and preference.

To measure the association of the dependent variable, movers versus stayers, with importance of the independent variables of preference, identification, and dependence, standardized (z) factor scores were computed for the latter. The factor scores were then dichotomized into categories of high and low. The higher a factor score, the greater the degree of importance a respondent attaches to each of the three dimensions.

Preference

A summary of the association between the importance of preference and the decision to move, here, being classified as a mover, is presented in Table 4.2, Table 4.3, Table 4.4, and Table 4.5. From the results in Table 4.2, it appears that there are proportionately more movers (57%) among people who have high preference scores than movers among those with low scores (42%). A high preference score means that people with high preference scores think that preference is relatively important in their decision to move. Preference is not significantly related to residential choice however. At first glance, this would indicate that there is insufficient evidence for concluding that movers and stayers actually differ with respect to the importance they attach to preference factors. However, under certain conditions, preference does become statistically significant. Tables 4.3, 4.3, and 4.5 show that when conditions are specified, the Q's for the conditional and partial coefficients increase. As indicated by Table 4.4, when controlling for dependence, when dependence is low, preference does become significantly related to moving. For respondents indicating low dependence and high preference, 61% were movers, as opposed to 25% movers when dependence was high. In this case, dependence specifies the conditions under which preference is a dimension for location choice and the decision to move. The results presented in Table 4.5 further support this point. In all cases, there were proportionately more movers when dependence was low. Given this one qualification, it does appear that movers and stayers differ with regard to preference. It is therefore

TABLE 4.2: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MOVERS AND STAYERS BY PREFERENCE

Preference	% Movers	
High Importance	56.7	(30)
Low Importance	42.2	(26)
Q	-.28	Total N=56 $X^2=1.16$ =.30

TABLE 4.3: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY PREFERENCE, CONTROLLING FOR IDENTIFICATION

TABLE 4.3: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY PREFERENCE, CONTROLLING FOR IDENTIFICATION				
Identification	Preference	% Movers	Q	Con- ditional Partial
High Importance	High Importance	45 (11)	.18	.14
	Low Importance	55 (11)		
Low Importance	High Importance	47 (19)	.12	
	Low Importance	53 (15)		
N=56				

TABLE 4.4: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY PREFERENCE, CONTROLLING FOR DEPENDENCE

Dependence	Preference	% Movers	Q	Condi- tional	Partial
High Importance	High Importance	25 (12)	.13		
	Low Importance	30 (13)			
Low Importance	High Importance	61 (18)	.36		.20
	Low Importance	77 (13)			

N=56

TABLE 4.5: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY PREFERENCE, CONTROLLING FOR DEPENDENCE AND IDENTIFICATION

Dependence	Identification	Preference	% Movers	Q	Condi- tional	Conditional	Partial
High Impt.	High Impt.	High Impt.	40 (5)	-.45			
		Low Impt.	20 (5)				
	Low Impt.	High Impt.	14 (7)	.56		.23	
		Low Impt.	37 (8)				
Low Impt.	High Impt.	High Impt.	50 (6)	.66			.27
		Low Impt.	83 (6)				
	Low Impt.	High Impt.	67 (12)	.19		.29	
		Low Impt.	71 (7)				

N=56

possible to conclude that differences between movers and stayers exist, and the original hypothesis is supported.

Identification

With regard to identification, a preliminary examination of the data, as presented in Table 4.6, indicate that 68% of the respondents with low identification scores (i.e., do not feel that identification is important) and 54% with high identification were movers. The results of the chi-square test however, show that identification is not statistically significant when taken as a sole dimension of residential choice. However, like the results found for preference, when certain conditions are specified, identification does exhibit significant results. Tables 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 show the conditional and partial coefficients for identification, controlling for preference, dependence, and preference and dependence, respectively. When controlling for preference, the relationship between identification and movers is not significantly affected. Yet, identification did appear as a significant dimension of choice when dependence was controlled. As seen in Table 4.8, the results show that 67% of the respondents with low dependence scores were movers, indicating that identification is a relatively important dimension of residential choice. In Table 4.9, when both dependence and preference were controlled, this fact was further supported. In all instances, as conditions of dependence were specified, the importance of identification increased. Moreover, of the respondents who had low scores on all three dimensions 71% were movers, whereas, when all three dimensions were high only 40% were movers. Thus, dependence again

TABLE 4.6: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MOVERS AND STAYERS BY IDENTIFICATION

Identification	% Movers	Q
High Importance	54 (22)	.29
Low Importance	68 (34)	
		$\chi^2=1.20$ p=.30 N=56

TABLE 4.7: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY IDENTIFICATION, CONTROLLING FOR PREFERENCE

Preference	Identification	% Movers	Q Condi- tional	Partial
High Importance	High Importance	45 (11)	.04	.01
	Low Importance	47 (19)		
Low Importance	High Importance	55 (11)	-.02	
	Low Importance	53 (15)		
		N=56		

TABLE 4.8: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY IDENTIFICATION, CONTROLLING FOR DEPENDENCE

Dependence	Identification	% Movers	Q
High Importance	High Importance	30 (10)	-.08
	Low Importance	26 (15)	
Low Importance	High Importance	67 (12)	.04
	Low Importance	67 (19)	
			- .01
			N=56
			$\chi^2 = 5.63 = .02$

TABLE 4.9: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY IDENTIFICATION, CONTROLLING FOR DEPENDENCE AND PREFERENCE

Dependence	Preference	Identification	% Movers	Q
High Impt.	High Impt.	High Impt.	40 (5)	-.60
		Low Impt.	14 (7)	
	Low Impt.	High Impt.	20 (5)	.41
		Low Impt.	37 (8)	
Low Impt.	High Impt.	High Impt.	50 (6)	.33
		Low Impt.	67 (12)	
	Low Impt.	High Impt.	83 (6)	-.33
		Low Impt.	71 (7)	
N=56				

specifies the conditions necessary before the importance of identification as a dimension of residential choice becomes apparent. Although qualified, the hypothesis is supported.

Dependence

The third hypothesis tested the importance of dependence. As predicted, dependence was confirmed as a single dimension of residential choice. Table 4.10 shows that of the respondents with low dependence scores, 54% were movers. This was statistically significant. It appears that regardless of the other dimensions, dependence is an important dimension of choice that individuals take into account when choosing a place to live. The fact that dependence was the only factor that was significant without further specification suggests that it is the most important or the primary dimension of residential choice.

The results of the three-way specification are interesting to note. Tables 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13 present the conditional and partial coefficients for dependence and migration, controlling for preference, identification and preference and identification combined. In all instances the conditional and partial Q's were greater than the zero-order coefficient ($Q = .20$). This would seem to indicate that dependence also has a conditional aspect to it. However, when this type of analysis is used, it is generally true that when one variable specifies another variable, the reverse is also true. In this case, specification of the conditional variables indicates that there is a three-way interaction among the variables. In this respect, however, dependence

TABLE 4.10: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MOVERS AND STAYERS BY DEPENDENCE

Dependence	% Movers	Q
High Importance	44 (25)	.20
Low Importance	54 (31)	

N=56

 $\chi^2=5.80$ $=.02$

TABLE 4.11: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY DEPENDENCE, CONTROLLING FOR PREFERENCE

Preference	Dependence	% Movers	Q Conditional	Partial
High impt.	High Impt.	25 (12)	.78	.70
	Low Impt.	61 (18)		
Low Impt.	High Impt.	30 (13)	.65	
	Low Impt.	77 (13)		

N=56

TABLE 4.12: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY DEPENDENCE, CONTROLLING FOR IDENTIFICATION

Identification	Dependence	% Movers	Q ^d - Condi- tional	Partial
High Impt.	High Impt.	30 (10)	.65	
	Low Impt.	67 (12)		
				.67
Low Impt	High Impt.	26 (15)	.71	
	Low Impt.	67 (19)		
N=56				

TABLE 4.13: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR MOVERS AND STAYERS BY DEPENDENCE, CONTROLLING FOR PREFERENCE AND IDENTIFICATION

Preference	Identification	Dependence	% Movers	Q ^d - Condi- tional	Partial
High Impt.	High Impt.	High Impt.	40 (5)	.20	.71
		Low Impt.	50 (6)		
	Low Impt.	High Impt.	14 (7)	.70	
		Low Impt.	67 (12)	.85	
Low Impt.	High Impt.	High Impt.	20 (5)	.90	
		Low Impt.	83 (6)		
	Low Impt.	High Impt.	37 (8)	.73	
		Low Impt.	71 (7)	.61	
N=56					

still seems to be the best indicator of locational choice. Again, when the importance of these three variables is low, that is, of the respondents having low preference, low identification, and low dependence scores, 71% were movers. The hypothesis, the lower the dependence, the more likely will be the decision to move is confirmed in all cases of dependence.

Class, Migration, and Preference, Identification and Dependence

The final part of the analysis is to test whether or not there is a relationship between social class and migration, and to determine the extent that the dimensions of preference, identification and dependence affect that relationship. Social class was measured by classifying occupations as being either white collar (High class) or blue collar (low class). The relationship between class and migration was tested first, followed by tests between class and migration, controlling for each of the three independent variables. Summaries of the association between class, migration and the three dimensions of residential choice are presented in Table 4.14, Table 4.15, Table 4.16, and Table 4.17.

The relationship between class and migration, presented in Table 4.14, shows that 61 percent of the lower class respondents were movers, as compared to 41 percent of the higher class. Although the zero-order coefficient of $Q=.39$ indicates a moderate association, it appears that members of the lower class are more likely to be movers. Again, it is necessary to understand that migration has been defined in broad terms, including within city moves, which may account for the larger proportion

TABLE 4.14: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN CLASS AND MIGRATION

Class	% Movers	Q
High Impt.	41 (39)	.39
Low Impt.	61 (13)	

N = 52

 $\chi^2 = 5.9487$ = .05TABLE 4.15: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR CLASS AND MIGRATION,
CONTROLLING FOR PREFERENCE

Preference	Class	% Movers	Q Conditional	Q Partial
High Impt.	High	24 (17)	.66	.46
	Low	66 (9)		
Low Impt.	High	55 (22)	-.09	
	Low	50 (4)		

N = 52

TABLE 4.16: PARTIAL COEFFICIENT FOR CLASS AND MIGRATION,
CONTROLLING FOR IDENTIFICATION

Identification	Class	% Movers	Q Conditional	Q Partial
High Impt.	High	47 (15)	-.14	
	Low	40 (5)		
Low Impt.	High	37 (24)	.66	.46
	Low	75 (8)		

N = 52

TABLE 4.17: PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS FOR CLASS AND MIGRATION,
CONTROLLING FOR DEPENDENCE

Dependence	Class	% Movers	Q Conditional	Q Partial
High Impt.	High	26 (19)	-.18	
	Low	20 (5)		
Low Impt.	High	55 (20)	.70	.43
	Low	88 (8)		

N = 52

of movers within the lower class.

When controlling for preference (Table 4.15), a comparison of the corresponding Q's suggests that the importance of preference does affect the relationship between class and migration. When preference is high, 66 percent of the lower class and only 24 percent of the higher class were movers. Thus, the importance of preference as a dimension of residential choice seems to be concentrated among the lower class.

Unlike preference, identification affects the relationship to a greater extent when identification is low. Table 4.16 shows that among the lower class respondents, 75 percent who had low identification scores compared to 40 percent who had high identification scores were movers. Furthermore, within those who had low identification scores, a greater proportion of the movers were members of the lower class.

The relationship between class and migration, controlling for dependence is presented in Table 4.17. Again, the relationship is strongest when dependence is low. When dependence was low and class was low, 88 percent of the respondents were movers, compared to 20 percent who stated that dependence was important as a dimension of residential choice. A similar pattern was found for those individuals who were members of the higher class.

Summary

In summary, the data indicate that there are three distinct dimensions of residential choice. They are preference, identification, and dependence. Differences between movers and stayers are evident with respect to these dimensions. In other words, people do consider the

importance of preference, identification, and dependence when choosing a place to live.

The strongest of the three variables is dependence. In all instances, this factor was statistically significant. Furthermore, identification and preference, did not become apparent until after dependence was controlled, i.e. when dependence was low. Preference, which in many ways may be theoretically linked to dependence, appears to be the second most important dimension of residential choice. And finally, although not as clear as the others, identification is a distinct element, influencing the decision to move.

The three dimensions of residential choice also seem to affect the relationship between class and migration. They exert the most influence when preference is high, identification is low, and dependence is low. Lower class individuals seem to be the most affected by these variables.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Preference and Migration

It was hypothesized that preference was a dimension of locational choice in the process of migration decision-making. It was further believed that preference was characterized by "tastes" reflecting style of life and family life cycle factors. The factor analysis confirmed that the components of style of life, such as availability of recreational and cultural facilities and the neighborhood attractiveness, as well as factors characterizing life cycle desires, especially those concerning children, are highly correlated with preference. Clearly, these are social factors that provide the means for individuals or families to express their perceived social needs.

Given the evidence that preference is a distinct dimension of locational choice, a relationship between movers and stayers and the importance of preference was expected. Some of the relationship between migration status and the decision to move can be attributable to preference. However, a strong direct, zero-order relationship was not observed. The relationship that does exist between preference and movers and stayers occurs after another dimension, dependence, has been specified. However, the original hypothesis, that individuals expressing high preference with an area are likely to consider moving was supported.

Identification and Migration

Based on the factor analysis, it seems that the critical components of identification include proximity to, and interaction with, parents, relatives, and friends. This finding proves the existence of identification as a distinct dimension of residential choice. The definition of identification presented earlier is thus supported. Identification does encompass feelings of belonging and sense of commitment. It should be noted that when the respondents were asked how much they felt they "belonged" in their respective neighborhoods, 77 percent of the responses dealt with factors of identification.

The relationship between identification and the decision to move was apparent, and gained further support as a separate dimension of residential choice when qualifications were added. Although this dimension of residential choice was not statistically significant until dependence was specified, it does suggest the possibility of being a separate dimension. Keeping in mind that a large proportion of the sample comprised young married couples who were active in the labor force, it is not surprising that dependence "overshadowed" this dimension. It is possible that when respondents are no longer members of the labor force, i.e., after retirement, and are free to move, identification would become more visible. The small sample size limits a direct demonstration of this, but the data seem to indicate that it might be true.

On the basis that identification includes a feeling of being "at home," and family commitments, it is interesting to note the difference

between movers and stayers with regard to marital status. Percentage differences between movers and stayers were not large; however, 14 percent of the movers as compared to 4 percent of the stayers were widowed, and 79 percent of the movers compared to 89 percent of the stayers were married. If marital status can be interpreted as being related to identification, then this suggests that single persons are more likely to move because they identify less with their current residence, than those who are married and do not move.

Dependence and Migration

The last dimension of residential choice is dependence. Like preference and identification, dependence emerged as a distinct dimension of choice in the factor analysis. Specifically the social and economic factors were highly associated with dependence. Proximity to job, schools, and shopping facilities reflect dependence in that they bind an individual to a particular area. Other components of dependence included availability of recreational facilities and cultural facilities. Justification for these components was presented in Chapter 4, noting that they imply a dual relationship with preference.

The decision to move seems to be strongly related to the importance of dependence. In fact, dependence was the only variable that was directly associated with the decision to move; it needed no specifiers or qualifications. Assuming that individuals try to live in areas that enhance their economic positions, the relationship between dependence, and movers and stayers was expected, and the hypothesis concerning dependence can be accepted.

Because dependence is defined in terms of several economic factors, it is interesting to note the differences between movers and stayers with regard to occupational status. All of the respondents who said that they were unemployed had decided to move. Although only 14 percent of the movers were unemployed and it was not statistically significant, it does conform to the theoretical framework. That is, being unemployed releases those individuals from an economic bond with the area, and they can seek employment elsewhere.

Preference, Identification, Dependence and Migration

It was proposed and confirmed that the importance of preference, identification and dependence are critical factors of locational choice, and affect the decision to move. There is evidence that the general combined hypothesis, the more a person depends on, prefers, and identifies with, a particular area, the more likely will be his decision to move, is true. When integrating all three variables (preference, identification, and dependence), as dimensions of migration decision-making, results of the three-way analysis are interesting to note. Although all three variables are important, the data suggest that dependence, more than preference or identification is an important determinant of whether an individual will choose to move to a new residence. In all cases, dependence appeared to be the major factor that individuals take into account. This finding is not surprising. Based on the assumption that economic factors are paramount considerations in other substantive areas of research, it should also be expected to be true for migration analysis. Thus, it appears that the relationship between

preference, identification, and dependence and the decision to move operates as follows: preference, identification and dependence affect the decision to move or stay. Dependence directly affects the decision, while identification and preference only affect the relationship when dependence is specified. In other words, identification and preference do not seem to directly influence the decision to move until after the individual has considered the consequences of the dependence factors. Specifically, it appears that when dependence is low, that is, the individual is not bound to the area for economic or socio-economic reasons, then identification and preference influence the movers' residential choices.

Continuing with this analysis, it appears that after dependence, preference is next in importance, followed by identification. Although the reason for this ordering was not tested, it is possible to speculate and suggest an explanation. First, it may be argued that the objective factors related to preference are specific to a particular "type" of area. If an individual places a high value on preference, and current residence does not offer the social setting for his preferred style of life, then moving may be the only solution for attaining that desired style of life. On the other hand, identification is a "subjective" component of residential choice. It is true that an individual may retain a certain affective commitment to a particular area. However, it is also true, that a "sense of belonging" reflects family bonds. Given the fact that most of the respondents in the sample were married, it is possible that identification may be present and important, regardless of the particular residential location.

Another explanation for preference being the second major component affecting migration lies within the nature of preference and dependence. It was suggested in Chapter 2, that dependence takes into account the economic necessities required to achieve and maintain the elements implicit in the dimension of preference. The fact that these two variables may be highly interrelated along several points may provide justification for the ordering of preference, as the second dimension of residential choice.

Although dependence, preference, and identification may differ in their relative importance with the decision to move, it is clear that all three variables do affect decision-making and are separate dimensions. The fact that some people move out of an area, while others stay, and that undoubtedly still others will move into that same area, suggests that it is the individual who is responsible for residential changes. Thus, an area may be desirable for some individuals and undesirable to others for similar reasons. Referring to Lee's theory of migration (1966) and models of expected utility that were presented in Chapter 1, the "+," "-", and "o" elements elaborated by Lee may be viewed as the components of dependence, preference, and identification. These three factors then, may be acting as "pushes" as well as "pulls." The data from the present study suggest that movers have considered the positive and negative consequences of the importance of dependence, preference, and identification, and the expected utility of alternative destinations and have made their decision to move accordingly.

Class, Migration, and Preference, Identification
and Dependence

After the three dimensions of residential choice were substantiated and differences were noted between movers and stayers, social class was introduced to complete the final scheme. First, the relationship between class and migration was tested. This relationship was again tested, controlling for preference, identification, and dependence.

As presented in Chapter 4, lower class respondents were more likely to be movers than those of the higher class. This was explained, in part, by the fact that many of the moves represented within city, or local changes of residence. The effect that each of the dimensions of residential choice had upon this relationship is interesting to note. Lower class respondents were more likely to regard preference as an important dimension of residential choice. This implies that lower class movers are more concerned with the "style of life" factors that are components of preference. It should be noted that the importance of preference was the only dimension that was considered to be an important determinant of residential choice for the lower class. Unlike preference, lower class respondents did not indicate that identification and dependence were important factors for deciding to move. Again, this may be explained by the nature of the migration experience. A short distance move, does not necessarily mean that family bonds must be broken. Likewise, dependence would not likely change given the relative ease of within city travel. Thus, identification and dependence were not important considerations for lower class migration. This

explanation received further support in that members of the higher class, usually characterized by long distance moves, indicated that identification and dependence were important.

Suggestions for Further Research

The primary objective of this study was to discover the dimensions of locational choice. The second objective was to test several hypotheses, comparing a sample of movers with a sample of stayers, using the three factors (preference, identification, dependence) that emerged in the primary analysis. The fact that the present study was exploratory in nature, attempting to tap the motivating factors affecting the decision to move, yields many unsolved problems for future research.

There is no generally accepted framework for measuring migration decision-making. Therefore, there are several methodological problems that need to be considered. Due to time and cost limitations, the research discussed in this paper was restricted to only one city. Ideally, future research will expand the number and types of areas sampled. Rural areas, as well as urban areas should be included. Furthermore, urban areas, varying in size and density would likely add considerable differences in the way that dependence, preference, and identification are perceived. Increasing the number and types of areas sampled would also allow for broader comparisons between movers and stayers to be made, based on differences of current residence. Another methodological problem encountered in the present study was the restrictions imposed by a small sample. Many statistical techniques were impossible to perform or were impaired because the number of respondents

falling into each cell of the factorial design was quite small. An increase in the total sample would increase the likelihood of representing diverse populations.

The analytic framework used in the present study implied many relationships which were not tested. Primarily, socio-economic status was, basically, an untapped dimension. If individuals representing different socio-economic characteristics were studied, sharper distinctions between dependence, identification, and preference, and ultimately migration, could be sought and tested. Particularly important would be a test of individuals who perceive themselves to be upwardly mobile.

Finally, general propositions and hypotheses that are open for further research are presented below.

1. Socio-economic status will affect the way that identification, dependence, and preference are perceived, and consequently influence migration.
2. The longer an individual or family resides in a particular area, the more likely the individual will identify with that area.
3. The more socially mobile individuals are, the more likely preferences will change, and the individual will consider moving.
4. Individuals who have retired, will be less likely to depend on an area, and identification will be more likely to become the primary decision factor.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule

Helen Ginn

Id # _____

Age _____ Sex _____ Race _____

Education _____ Occupation _____

- Marital Status
- a. single
 - b. married
 - c. divorced or separated
 - d. widowed
 - e. other (specify)

How many children do you have? _____

How old are your children? _____

Migration History

- | | <u>city or town</u> | <u>state</u> | <u>size</u> | <u># of years</u> |
|---|---------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. Place of birth | | | | |
| 2. current residence | | | | |
| 3. place where you spent
major part of childhood | | | | |
| 4. how many places have you
lived since you were
married? | | | | |
| | a. | | | |
| | b. | | | |
| | c. | | | |
| | d. | | | |
| | e. | | | |
| | f. | | | |

(If respondent has lived in Greensboro most of the time ask #5 & 6)

5. How many times have you moved within the Greensboro area? _____

6. Where have you lived in Greensboro?

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

7. Do you wish to move within the next year? Yes _____ No _____

8. Have you made any specific plans to move? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, where?

city or town

state

size

Why would you like to live there?

2. How far must you travel to reach the following places?

1 mile 1-2 3-5 5-10 10 or
or less miles miles miles more miles

- a) recreational facilities
 b) cultural facilities
 c) church or temple
 d) schools
 e) shopping facilities for
 non-essentials (i.e.
 hobbies, special purchases)

3. How do you feel about your home with regard to the following characteristics?

completely neither very
satisfied satisfied sat. or diss. dissat. diss.

- a) # of rooms
 b) amount of privacy
 c) amount of space
 d) lot size

Dependence

1. The following is a list of reasons for moving to a particular area. Please indicate how important each one is as a factor in choosing a home.

of very great of great of some of no
importance importance importance importance

- a) nearness to
 job
 b) nearness to schools
 c) nearness to
 shopping facilities
 d) availability of
 public transportation

2. How far must you travel to reach the following places?

1 mile 1-2 3-5 5-10 10
or less miles miles miles or more miles

- a) job
 b) food stores that
 you like (favorite)
 c) nearest food store
 d) medical services
 e) transportation
 terminals (if used)

3. What is your present occupation? _____
4. Do you expect to have this same job next year? _____
5. Do you "see" this job as temporary or permanent? _____
6. If temporary, when do you expect to change jobs? _____
7. Are you dependent on public transportation? _____

Identification

1. The following is a list of reasons for moving to a particular area. Please indicate how important each one is as a factor in choosing a home.

	<u>of very great</u> <u>importance</u>	<u>of great</u> <u>importance</u>	<u>of some</u> <u>importance</u>	<u>of no</u> <u>importance</u>
--	---	--------------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

- a) nearness to parents
- b) nearness to relatives
- c) nearness to friends
- d) friendly neighbors

2. How far must you travel to reach the following?

<u>1 mile</u> <u>or less</u>	<u>1-2</u> <u>miles</u>	<u>3-5</u> <u>miles</u>	<u>5-10</u> <u>miles</u>	<u>10</u> <u>or more miles</u>
---------------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------------

- a) parents
- b) relatives
- c) friends

3. Do you belong to any of the following organizations?

<u>no</u>	<u>yes</u>	<u>yes</u>	<u>yes</u>
<u>—</u>	<u>office holder</u>	<u>active member</u>	<u>inactive member</u>

- a) religious
- b) political
- c) business or professional
- d) social service
- e) social
- f) other (specify)

4. How many close friends live in your immediate neighborhood?
a) none b) some c) most d) all
5. How many close relatives live in your immediate neighborhood?
a) none b) some c) most d) all
6. How much do you feel you belong in this neighborhood?

Index of Identification

Rate each of the following with regard to their association to each area.
(First, answer a specific place; second, answer Urban, Suburban, Rural)

1. Where do you identify as being "home?"
2. Where do you feel comfortable?
3. Where is the most friendly place?
4. Where would you find friends who are intimate or close?
5. Where would you like your children to grow up?

Index of Preference

(same as above)

1. Where would you be most satisfied to live?
2. Where is the best area for a good social life?
3. Where is the best place to raise children?
4. Where are the best opportunities available to raise a child?
5. Where would you find people who are most like yourselves?
6. Where do you feel safest?

Index of Dependence

(same as above)

1. Where is your business or job located?
2. Where would you find the most employment opportunities?
3. Where is the best area located for your shopping needs?
4. Where can you find the medical services that you may need?

(1 = Urban; 2 = suburban; 3 = rural; Add totals to obtain index score)

Integration

1. What do you think people would do if a different racial family moved into the neighborhood?
2. What would you do if a racial family, unlike yourself, moved into the neighborhood.

APPENDIX B

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS FOR OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Question	Total		Preference		Identification		Dependence	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. If specific plans to move: Why would you like to live there?	26	100	8	31	15	59	13	50
2. Where would you like to live... why?	56	100	19	34	37	66	15	27
3. Place liked best...why?	56	100	19	34	41	73	10	18
4. What was different from the place liked best from Greensboro?	30	100	8	27	26	87	3	10
5. How much do you feel you belong in this neighborhood?	56	100	32	57	43	77	10	18

Rows total more than 100% due to multiple responses